

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I A D E N T I A L KABUL 3312

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, PINT, AF
SUBJECT: THE ORIENTATION OF THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME

1. WE, SO FAR, HAVE NO DIRECT CONTACT AND EXTREMELY LITTLE TO GO ON IN TRYING TO EVALUATE THE ORIENTATION OF THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME. ITS OFFICIAL BROADCASTS TO PROCLAIM ITS DEVOTION TO ISLAM AND NON-ALIGNMENT, BUT THESE STATEMENTS ARE WHAT ONE WOULD EXPECT OF ANY NEW AFGHAN REGIME AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REVEAL ITS TRUE ORIENTATION.

2. MY GUESS AT THIS POINT IS THAT THERE ARE THREE POSSIBILITIES:

A. THIS IS A REGIME CONTROLLED ENTIRELY BY YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS LIKE THE REGIMES THAT CAME INTO POWER UNDER SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES IN COUNTRIES LIKE IRAQ AND LIBYA.

B. THE REGIME IS A JOINT ENDEAVOR OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN KHALQ/PARCHAM COMMUNISTS. THE RECEPTION GIVEN TO THE RELEASE OF THE KHALQ/PARCHAM LEADERS WHO WERE ARRESTED BY DAOUD AND THE APPOINTMENT, IF CONFIRMED, OF PAKTIAWAL TO HEAD THE FINANCE
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MINISTRY WOULD TEND TO INDICATE THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE PLAYING A ROLE OF FULL PARTNER.

C. THE REGIME IS AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND LEFT-OF-CENTER NATIONALISTS, BOTH OF WHOM HAVE NO OBJECTION TO HAVING THE KHALQ/PARCHAM OPERATE OPENLY. HERE AGAIN, THE BEST INITIAL EVIDENCE WILL BE APPOINTMENTS TO HIGH POSITIONS.

3. MY GUESS AT THE MOMENT IS THAT THE ANSWER IS EITHER 2.?
OR 2.;, WITH THE EVIDENCE TO DATE POINTING SLIGHTLY TOWARD 2.B.

4. IN ANY CASE, WE HAVE A NEW BALL GAME IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.
IT WAS A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF DAOUD TO MAXIMIZE AFGHAN INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME IS BOUND TO BE MORE DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIETS, AS WELL AS MORE ORIENTED TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. AS AMBASSADORS SULLIVAN AND HUMMEL HAVE ALREADY NOTED, THESE FACTS WILL HAVE AN EFFECT ON OUR RELATIONS WITH BOTH IRAN AND PAKISTAN. WHETHER THEY WILL HAVE AN EFFECT ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WILL DEPEND TO SOME DEGREE ON HOW OVERT SOVIET INFLUENCE WILL BE HERE. MY GUESS IS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL WANT TO REMAIN BEHIND THE SCENES, CONFIDENT THAT THEIR ESSENTIAL STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN ARE BEING MET AND NOT WANTING TO RISK ALARMING AFGHANISTAN'S OTHER NEIGHBORS AND OURSELVES. BUT, JUDGING FROM SOME REPORTED APPOINTMENTS OF WELL-KNOWN AFGHAN COMMUNISTS, THE SOVIETS MAY NOT BE ABLE SUFFICIENTLY TO INFLUENCE THE KHALQUISTS SO AS TO VEIL THE PRO-SOVIET NATURE OF THE REGIME.
ELIOT

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